

11 December 1980

Poland

Continue to review evidence, remain convinced coercive measures against Solidarity probable

From Sov perspective:

1. Cannot accept status quo. Union successfully challenging party's exclusive control.
2. No sign Kania able to reverse flow of power to Solidarity or demonstrate party/govt capacity to control Union.
3. Heavy pressure from GDR; lesser extent from Czech to stamp out "Polish disease"

Timing of Measures

Probably ready last Monday -- why no go
Three possibilities:

1. Never intended to -- intimidation only
2. Kania talked Sovs out of it, bought time in Moscow
 - no strikes 15 days
 - several reports he gave assurances he could handle; got more time, on probation
 - change in attitude of Polish military -- set limits -- reassure Pact allies

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Brezhnev now back from India: action imminent?

1. No reassurance politically
 - Solidarity statement on dissident prisoners
 - Walesa pressure on govt
 - farmer union
 - reaction to banning of film
 - demonstration in Gdansk -- 7 Dec
 - Union review next week: already accusing govt of breaking accords
 - huge outpouring on 16th for movement dedication
 - In sum, no sign of party/govt regaining initiative,
reestablishing control

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5. Some chance timing and nature of coercive measures affected by Western pressure. No chance Sov determination to crush Solidarity by whatever means necessary affected by such pressures.